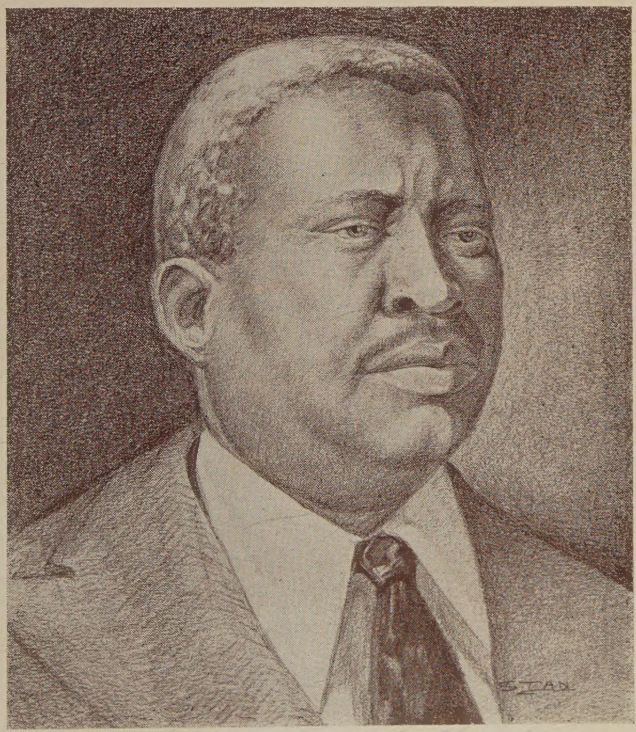
April 1953

Dup. G.B.I.

# Fellowship



A. J. LUTHULI *Ex-Chief*

*(See page 11)*

*The Duty of Freedom.* by Milton Mayer

20c

ff In the spring of 1952 the Chaplains' Corps of the Army sent a copy of a prayer to the Rev. J. W. Reed of Portland, Oregon, (and probably many other ministers), with the request that it be used in church on Armed Forces Sunday. It was a prayer that Mr. Reed, an FOR member, did not feel he could pray, so he wrote his own prayer for the occasion, explained to his congregation that he was making this substitution, and read it at his morning service. It was, he says, very cordially received and appreciated, and he would be glad to have it used by anyone who wishes to do so. Armed Forces Day in 1953 is May 16, and Armed Forces Sunday, therefore, is May 17. . . . Milton Mayer returns to the pages of FELLOWSHIP with a speech he gave before a German audience (in their own language) under pretty trying circumstances last year. . . . The series on the "intentional community" is carried on by Alfred Hassler, who tells the tale of Skyview Acres, near New York City. . . . A letter from the Eastern Zone of Germany shows that there is a spirit of resistance alive there.


**FELLOWSHIP**

**Published by the**

**Fellowship of Reconciliation**

21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

A. J. MUSTE, *Secretary*

ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

CONSTANCE M. HAMILTON, *Associate Editor*



EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS

Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
Allan Knight Chalmers
Bernard C. Clausen
Sarah N. Cleghorn
Florence Converse
Henry H. Crane
Albert Edward Day
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Josephine W. Johnson
Muriel Lester
Halford E. Luccock
Milton Mayer
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Kirby Page
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley, Jr.
Howard Thurman



*Member, Associated Church Press*

FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy $2 a year

Fellowship

The WORLD in FOCUS

VOLUME 19, NUMBER 4 APRIL 1953

EVER since "Subheads," of late lamented memory, *Fellowship*'s editors have felt the need of a page or two where they and other members of the FOR staff could comment on the news from time to time. The trouble lay in finding a title that would define the section adequately: neither too frivolous (some people think the times are too grave for frivolity, and besides, it's hard to keep writing things that are really funny), nor too portentous-sounding, so that the impression is of an ex cathedra pronouncement coming with the formal approval of the staff, the executive committee, and the National Council.

Finding such a title, however, is quite a trick. (The nearest we got

. . . . . .

*This photograph was published in the New York Times of February 7, 1953, with the following caption: "Dummy enemy wounded or dead soldier is made up by two marines to lure rescuing Chinese into the open. This is one of the many tricks used by both sides in the prolonged, small-scale but deadly 'stalemate' war." Probably no one is unclear about what happens to the "rescuing Chinese" when they have been "lured into the open" on their errand of mercy. What is even more appalling to think about is what has happened to young Americans to bring them to this kind of action, and to their elders at home who sanction it as a "necessity" of war.*

*Wide World*

was the suggestion to use a pseudonym for the whole section and call it something like "Between the Lions," by Androcles.) This paragraph is a substitute, therefore, to announce that while these short comments represent some of the best thinking the members of a busy staff can do, they are not necessarily representative of the collective thinking or policy of the official Fellowship.

•

*According to the press reports, grieving Russians stood in the freezing cold in a line ten miles long, eight abreast, to pass Stalin's bier. Somehow it doesn't sound exactly like the behavior of a people on the verge of revolt, as some of our statesmen like to suggest.*

•

## *Behind the Protests*

There appear to be differences between the anti-semitism of the Nazis and the anti-semitism currently displayed in Communist circles abroad. These, however, do not alter the fact that the current developments threaten the great majority of the two and a half to three million Jews behind the Iron Curtain with the same extermination that overtook the great majority of Jews in Hitler-controlled lands.

Pacifists believe that condemnation of anti-semitism and terrorism of any kind must be clear and unequivocal, and in this sense join unhesitatingly in the protests being voiced in this and other countries.

At the same time we recall that pleas regarding the plight of the Jews in Hitler Germany constituted an important factor in the psychological preparation for American participation in World War II. The intelligentsia and the more socially sensitive people, in and out of the churches, found these pleas especially compelling. Such barbarism, they felt, had to be stopped at whatever cost and by whatever means.

Moreover, once Hitler's attack on Russia put an end to the malodorous Hitler-Stalin pact, the United States allied itself with Russia "in order to put an end to Nazi barbarism." In many circles the Soviet regime was idealized, and even among peace workers references to slave labor camps and terrorism in the Soviet Union tended to stamp one as playing into the hands of the Nazis, if not as an outright fascist.

Our moral indignation is seldom pure and non-political in character, which is undoubtedly one reason why moral indignation seldom proves efficacious. So it is advisable to ask ourselves to what extent the current protests against Communist anti-semitism are affected by the fact that

they gear in with a psychology of war preparations against Russia, just as a few years ago barbaric practices of the Russian regime were ignored or minimized because the Stalin regime was a wartime ally. We need to be clear that we can never condone or minimize moral evil, and equally that we must guard against the use of our moral indignation for the end of war propaganda.

For the fact is that the war against Hitler did not save the Jews of Germany and Poland. It may even be that if the war had not occurred, the Nazis could not have carried extermination to anything like the lengths they did. It is when people are mad with war or the fear of war that they perpetrate such crimes.

Nor were Jews elsewhere saved because "making an example" of the Nazis stamped out anti-semitism. They are not even safe—at the moment perhaps least safe—in Communist Russia, which was supposed to be completely free of anti-semitism and racial prejudice generally and which was a welcome and honored ally against Hitler. As for Israel itself, land of so many hopes and not a few glorious achievements, the safety of its people obviously depends upon the vicissitudes of the power struggle and the atomic armaments race. The Soviet persecutions already furnish the occasion for appeals for military as well as other aid from the West.

There could be no more precarious protection than this. War, the ultimate terror, will not put an end to terror. The welfare of the world's minorities, its refugees and its outcasts, depends not upon war but upon the ending of war.

•

*"The Church has never regarded the civil law as the final norm for the Christian conscience. 'We must obey God rather than men.' The Church has often been healthiest when it was illegal. . . ."*

*Dean James A. Pike*
*Cathedral of St. John the Divine*
*New York City, February 12, 1953*

•

## *Primitive*

The high schools of Connecticut are reported preparing to introduce a "Course in Primitive Living" to their senior students next fall as a means of equipping them for life in the aftermath of atomic war.

Superficially, the idea has the same kind of merit as the periodic

earnest assemblages of civil defense workers at some specified point in a large city where "an atomic bomb" is presumed to have exploded. Practically, the two are of the same category of painstakingly constructed illusions that soften even a little the harsh outline of atomic war.

The civil defense workers, complete with white helmets, geiger counters, whistles, and assisting fire departments, rush to the focal point of destruction from every other section of the city and surrounding suburbs. We have yet to hear of a civil defense drill based on what is a much more likely eventuality—the dropping of half a dozen bombs that would turn the whole city into a shambles, leave half a million radioactive corpses, and make rescue work virtually impossible.

So with the neo-primitives of Connecticut. Primitive man began with a psychology of complete self-sufficiency, which isn't going to be easy to transfer to the teen-aged products of an interdependent culture, and lived in physical circumstances conducive to that kind of life. A Connecticut whose woods held more game than tourists, and whose rivers teemed with fish instead of power plants, would be a better bet for a Twentieth-Century primitive.

As it is, the course points up the superstition-ridden nature of pre-Atomic War primitive man, who can put more effort into learning how to subsist after catastrophe than in trying to avert the catastrophe itself.

•

*"The European people of South Africa have accepted complacently attack after attack on the rights of non-European peoples. The Church has had again and again to lift her voice in protest. I have been attacked for interfering in politics. If the Church remains silent, she is untrue to her nature as guardian of human dignity and morality."*

—*The Rev. Trevor Huddleston*
*Johannesburg, South Africa*
New York Times, *March 12, 1953*

•

## *Slip*

Caption on the front cover of a recent issue of the *American Engineer:* "Engineers Can Give Tomorrow's Generation a Great New World War." A postcard hard on the heels of the magazine pleaded with subscribers to eradicate the last word, but it was too late. The unconscious had got its licks in again.

# Commuters' Community

by

**Alfred Hassler**

IT MAY BE, as some of the dialecticians of the movement maintain, that Skyview Acres can get its story into a series on "intentional communities" only by crawling in under the tent wall, where the guards at the entrance can't keep it out. Certainly it is very different from an all-out cooperative like New Zealand's Riverside or such American efforts as Macedonia and Koinonia. Our quick bridling when the purists label us "suburban communiteers" may be more a sign of guilt than of righteous indignation.

A year or so ago we had a visit from the New York banker who financed most of our homes. In doing so, he had rushed into an area where a large number of his contemporaries had most emphatically refused to tread. His business judgment vindicated, our banker beamed on us and all our works.

"These fellows," he announced to the directors who had accompanied him, "are making this into a new Tuxedo Park!"

Since Tuxedo Park is the care-

*"It is not too difficult to create, with imagination and sweat, a community that looks like a considerable amount of money." This particular Skyview house represents a cash investment of $11,000 (about the price of a much smaller home in a commercial development) and some $4,000 worth of the owners' sweat.*

fully manicured wilderness of the set who hire people just to clip their coupons, "these fellows" winced at the comparison. We had had something very different in mind.

## Zest Is Added

Still, appearances continue frequently to be deceptive, and Skyview and its forty-five families have more in common, certainly in spirit and intent, with Riverside and Macedonia than they have with Tuxedo Park. If the working out of the intent follows different lines from theirs, still it has brought added zest and meaning to the lives of its members and a new tone to the larger community of which it is a part. In our more sanguine moments, some of us even feel that at a few points it has made some significant moves in the direction of the truly democratic and interdependent kind of life that is the mark of the genuine community.

Skyview Acres is located some thirty miles northwest of New York City, across the Hudson River from that metropolis, in the foothills of the Ramapo Mountains. (Westerners will kindly forgive the conceit of finding foothills at the base of 2500-foot "mountains.") In all it occupies some 110 acres, through which it has strung 7,500 feet of roads, largely hacked and hewn out of fields and forest by the unaccustomed muscles of its members, including wives.

The rolling, boulder-strewn country that presumably gave Rockland County its name is satisfyingly beautiful and surprisingly rural, the latter characteristic one that may be altered rapidly with the completion of two new superhighways originating in New York City. Apple and peach orchards, operated by the descendants of the Dutch settlers who started them back before the American Revolution, make a fairyland of the surrounding country in springtime and in the fall inhibit by their bounty us ambitious amateurs who might otherwise try to raise our own fruit. Dogwoods bloom in profusion, pyramidal junipers stay green all winter, and the forest that still accounts for most of our acreage shelters a wide variety of birds and beasts to delight our esthetic eyes and break our gardening hearts.

## It Looks Good

In such a setting, it is not too difficult to create with imagination and sweat a community that looks like a considerable amount of money to the man who has learned to assess values exclusively in dollars.

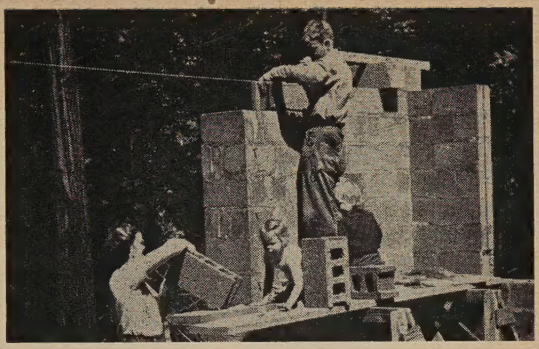
This is not to say that Skyview achieved all the goals its founders had in mind when they first organized it in 1946. The nine families who were its members at the time

. . . . . .

## *About the Author*

*Alfred Hassler writes "Commuters' Community" from personal experience. One of the three original members of Skyview Acres, he served four terms as its president. During the rest of the time, as you may know, he edits* FELLOWSHIP.

of incorporation, and who shouldered a debt of $30,000 to buy its land, were all of distinctly "moderate" income. Three of them were young veterans for whom the war had been no bonanza; four were pacifists, and for some of them it had been a financial disaster. At least several of that early group had to borrow some or all of their initial $1,000 investment.



*FOR-member Walter Haines, economics professor at New York University and ex-CPS, enlists his family in home building project.*

## Home in the Country

Their goal was a chance for families of that income level to build homes in the country, with sizable plots of ground and a democratically organized community, none of which coincided with the aims of the more conventional speculative builder. The goal, specifically, was a house and a couple of acres for somewhere between $6,000 and $10,000 complete, with only a few gimlet-eyed realists actually thinking in terms of anything like the higher figure.

But in 1946 and the years that followed building costs were tied to a rocket headed for the stratosphere. Every time we looked up from our plans the price of lumber and labor and lattice-work had gone up a few points more. The pace became too swift for some and they dropped out. New members came increasingly from the ranks of young business and professional people with generally brighter financial futures.

Today there is not a home in Skyview that represents an investment of less than $10,000 to $12,000, with most somewhere nearer $15,000, and a few running considerably higher. These figures are not high in terms of new homes in the New York area, and are substantially below what a home would cost in a community of comparable physical appearance. They are certainly not, however, any kind of answer to the need for really low cost housing.

At the same time, it is also a mark of Skyview's achievements that in most cases from $500 to $5,000 of the total "cost" of the home represents "self-help"—work done by the owner and his family and friends. A standing joke during the building program was the hopeful legend that appeared somewhere on almost every plan: "Future by owner." Moreover, Skyview has never approached the collapse of good intentions of a near-by cooperative, whose initial promises of a $7,500 total investment have been so lost in the shuffle that the present *minimum* investment required of new members is $25,000!

Such figures are a far cry from

the self-sufficient, back-to-the-land community that attempts to free its members from some of the pressures of an acquisitive capitalistic society. Most of Skyview's wage-earners commute—via co-operative car-pools—to jobs in the city. All but one or two are tied to mortgages that will run for ten or twenty years, in addition to the usual load of taxes, insurance and maintenance that requires a continued and steady income to sustain.

## Still Unique

Yet with all these compromises with the existing order, Skyview remains in some ways unique and significant. More than half its members *are* still of moderate income, though more heavily representative of the low-paying professions—teaching, social work, etc.—than of the "genuine proletariat." There is no evidence that the size of the family income has any relation to its adjustment and acceptability within the community. (Actually, a few of the better-paid ones have been seen wearing a mildly apologetic air about their lofty economic status. One such, recalling his family's decision not to join another co-op because they felt they would be under pressure to "keep up with the Joneses," added ruefully, "In Skyview we find that we're the Joneses!")

## No Barriers

Skyview's membership is, of course, interfaith and interracial. In an area that had been strongly flavored with anti-semitism and anti-Negro feeling this has been important, and its effects heart-warming. There was some muttering among near-by residents in the beginning, and a few half-hearted rumors to the effect that we were all Communists and practitioners of free love, but if there was any temptation to overt action it was discouraged by the prospect of tackling a well-integrated and articulate group of more than a hundred people.

When three Skyview Negro children made their first trip to the near-by country school, they had no need to fear any kind of discrimination, since the rest of the Skyview children—the group of which they were already an accepted part—made up nearly half the school's population!

## Active in Neighborhood

On the other hand, Skyview members have moved out into a

*While their older brothers and sisters are away at school, Skyview's small fry get a chance at "play school" with mothers alternating as "teachers." Here FOR member Eleanor Kelsey, superintendent of joint Methodist-Congregational Sunday School near by, reads them a story.*

*Damming up the stream that flows across Skyview Acres provided a wading-pool for the community's children. Skyview has 51 children under 12, with four more on the way.*

score of normal activities in the larger community, and the rumors have been almost completely silenced. Skyview members sing in the choirs of local churches and teach in their church schools. Jean Houser, wife of FOR staff member George Houser, is president of the local PTA, and two other Skyview mothers are vice-presidents.

Charles Lawrence, Brooklyn College sociologist and national vice-chairman of the FOR, is a member of a citizens advisory committee on schools, and president of the newly organized chapter of the NAACP. With the initial question of Negro residence in the area removed from debate by Skyview, neither Charles nor his pediatrician-psychiatrist wife Margaret have found their color to be any bar to their participation in an increasing number of community activities.

Ed Simons, Skyview's leading musician, conducts the new Suburban Symphonette, which combined with the Rockland Choral Society to present an impressive Christmas program in several near-by churches. Other Skyview members played in the orchestra and sang in the chorus.

Negroes in the near-by village, since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, have had to travel ten miles for a haircut, thanks to a quiet conspiracy among the village's four barbershops. Through the years, earnest attempts by concerned individuals and groups failed to get anywhere, but the structure of segregation began to collapse when a few Skyview customers persuaded one shop to relent.

A church men's group whose president was FOR and Skyview member Homer Kelsey, heard a talk by George Houser and formed a Council of Community Brotherhood that went to work on the other three. Today Negroes may still be striking at the very foundations of Western culture when they have their hair cut in Spring Valley, but nobody is

making any attempt to stop them from doing it.

## Case for Brotherhood

What other effects Skyview has had or will have in the larger community is hard to say. More often than not, its residents do not identify themselves as such as they take part in county nursing groups, volunteer for weekly stints at the Haverstraw Rehabilitation Hospital, or do other jobs of county-wide significance. But its influence seems likely to be good at several points.

The case for brotherhood, for example, seems likely to be strengthened and extended. The traditional Christmas carolling has become, at Skyview, a combined Christmas-Hanukkah carolling, and last Christmas a Skyview choral group brought that emphasis to both the local PTA and a near-by sanitarium.

## A New View

So, perhaps, with civil liberties. Rockland County has a long history of political conservatism that was bound to be somewhat startled by the predominantly liberal political complexion of a group like ours. Nothing dramatic has happened yet, but service clubs and church groups have invited pacifist and other "advanced thinkers" to speak to them; debates on things like UMT have taken a surprising turn from the point of view of the more conventional patriots around town; and the possessors of some of these odd notions are revealed to the local public as otherwise quite normal friends and neighbors instead of the bearded, beady-eyed radicals they had suspected.

*Fortnightly folk dances in a convenient garage keep the neighbors sprightly.*

Within Skyview itself the ferment, to those who know what to watch for, is more exciting. The philosophical conviction that there is no great difference between "races" is not the same as the actual experience of living in an interracial community. It is in the latter circumstance that one learns that there *are* differences, and that through the sharing of those differences a richer life is possible for all.

There were those who joined Skyview with mental reservations about "open" membership. Once or twice some of them allowed their residual prejudices and a newfound concern for "property values" to influence their votes on new members. But no one was excluded by their votes, and the experience of living next door to the unknown devil for a while is having its insidious effect. When a "mixed" couple (Negro husband and white wife) applied for membership—surely the ultimate test for the "emancipated" white—the vote in favor of admission was a triumphant one short of unanimous. In time, the bigotry will all be gone from Skyview, and that will have

been another achievement.

The fact that anyone with a residue of prejudice could be a member of the community surprises some of the theoreticians, who cannot understand Skyview's rather relaxed approach to the problem of admitting new members. Their concern parallels the feeling of some pacifist friends in the early days, who urged that what was needed was a pacifist community —all pacifists.

Probably there is a place for the all-pacifist—or all single taxer, or all proletarian, or all-Christian—community, for those whose temperaments impel them in that direction. (The more complete break a community makes with the common culture, the more desirable such a standard of membership is, I suspect.) For us, there is a greater appeal in the community of diverse interests and attachments, where insights and convictions may be tested and shared.

Of Skyview's forty-five member families, nine include one or more FOR members. They have furnished three of Skyview's five presidents, and a disproportionate number of its directors, but this

(*Continued on p.* 17)

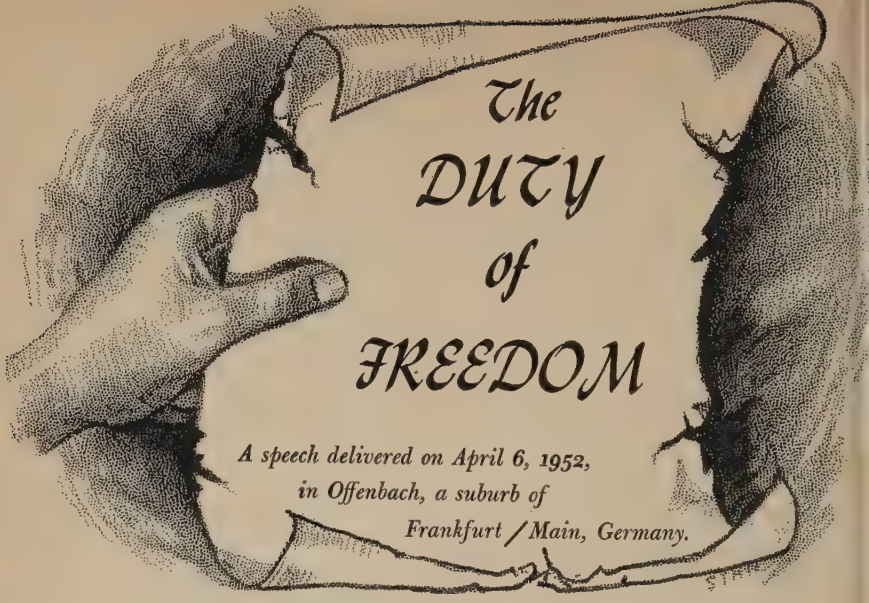
**Chief Luthuli**

"Sometimes you have the luck to know a person of such tenderness and largeheartedness that you say to yourself, 'Oh, if only that sort of man could be in charge of things, how different the world would be!' "

In such words did Tom Wardle begin an article in a recent issue of Britain's *Peace News* about the man whose picture appears on our cover this month: Albert J. Luthuli, pacifist and FOR member and newly elected president of the African National Congress.

For 17 years a teacher, Luthuli in 1935 was elected to the Chieftainship of the Abase-Makolwenu tribe in the Groutville Mission Reserve, a position from which he was dismissed by the Secretary for Native Affairs when he was chosen to head the African National Congress.

A devoted Christian, Luthuli takes the Congress leadership at a critical period. Counter-measures by the Union of South Africa government against the Congress-sponsored nonviolent "Campaign Against Unjust Laws" have become increasingly severe, and its leaders must face the possibility, in Luthuli's words, of "ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment, and even death." But all this, says he, "I place in the hands of the Almighty."




By Milton Mayer, *Citizen*

I COME TO YOU TODAY as the highest official of the United States of America. My title is Citizen, and, as such, I am the American sovereign. I wish to speak to you, in my official capacity, on the rights of a sovereign Citizen, and his duties.

Hitler deprived you and your fathers of the rights of Citizens, and so would Stalin. Hitler assigned you and your fathers duties unbecoming a Citizen, and so would Stalin. If you wish to be a Citizen, you must never let any ruler or any government, German, Russian, or American, act upon you in any way except as your faithful servant.

My rights and duties as a sovereign Citizen do not come from Government. They come from God. The purpose, and the only purpose, of Government is to secure them to me. And so I must oppose any Government, even my own, if it violates those rights or degrades those duties. If I did not, I would not be a good American. I would not be a sovereign Citizen.

Your situation, not as Germans, but as children of God, is identical with mine. Your rights and duties come to you in the same way as mine. They are inalienable and non-transferable. They cannot be turned over to a representative unless he is bound to represent you. Your representatives in the Bundestag are not bound to represent you. Neither are mine in the American Congress. A sovereign Citizen, in case his representatives should ever fail to represent him, must always be prepared to represent himself.

It is my right as a Citizen to speak my mind and my conscience, no matter whether my fellow-Citi-

(*Continued on page* 14)

# "I Promise to Offer RESISTANCE"

I acknowledge receipt of your food package which arrived just at the right moment to strengthen my feeling of international solidarity. As of January first I lost my job in a technical service of the People's Police because I refused to take arms. Since then I have been unemployed.

I was called to help to erect fences at the demarcation line between East and West Berlin, but though I accepted this job I did not execute it. I promise you to offer resistance to any measure I believe to be detrimental to mankind. When I got my job, I swore an oath to the Administration in Berlin, that I should do no service except to the benefit of mankind and should be ready to give my life for it. . . . My profession has come to an end, but I think it is my duty that the oath shall be as a star above my life. . . .

The people here in the East of Germany are partly in a pacifist struggle that would astonish the world if it were known. Boys of Mecklenburg, who had been called to serve at anti-aircraft guns, went home the next day. Two days later

## (A Letter from an East German Pacifist)

THE LETTER ON THESE PAGES *was sent by a young pacifist in East Germany to a well-informed West German pacifist with many Eastern contacts. It is a grim comment on our times that the best interests of both are served by maintaining their anonymity.*

*Our West German informant, who vouches for the authenticity of the letter and the reliability of its writer, underlines four observations in relation to it:*

- Recruiting for the "People's Police," widely believed in the West to be a nucleus for an East German, Communist-oriented army, is still on a voluntary basis.
- The military value of the People's Police should not be exaggerated. Not all have the strength to resist as did the young factory employees mentioned, but there are many who join with the utmost reluctance and who therefore cannot be considered "reliable."
- It is not true that pacifists in the East are simply shot, as many Westerners believe. People who refuse to display fear are seldom shot. Nonviolent resistance continues to prove effective, here as elsewhere.
- To encourage these young pacifists is certainly a better defense against Communist "aggression" than is bullying the East with atomic and H-bombs.

they were arrested. After three days they started a hunger strike, and after three days of this they were dismissed as "politically not reliable."

At a certain factory at———— each of the young people from 18 to 20 had to appear alone before his superiors and explain why he had not "volunteered" for the People's Police. In spite of the most wonderful promises, not one boy or girl of the whole factory would go. If only you could tell them they are not alone or forgotten!

While we in the East hold to our pacifism, I hope that you can maintain and strengthen your own liberty of action and movement in the West. If the West can frustrate the efforts for the Bonn Treaty and we in the East resist the recruiting officers, then I think we have achieved something really remarkable for mankind. The world would look upon us and say: "The Germans indeed no longer want war. They want Peace. . . ."

. . . . . .

## THE DUTY OF FREEDOM

(*Contiued from page* 12)

zens are pleased with me at the moment. This right cannot be circumscribed by the national interest, by the national security, or even by the national survival, because it does not come to me from the nation.

I cannot believe that it is important that a nation survive just because it is now surviving. No nation has ever survived very long, and the first historian, Herodotus, observed that even in his time those nations which were then great had been nothing, while those which were then nothing had once been great. Nor can I believe that it is important that Germans, or Americans, or Russians survive, just because they are now surviving. None of us survives very long, in any case. What is important is the *way* in which we survive and the way in which we cease to survive. What is important are the rights and duties of Citizens. What is important, in one word, is God.

My duty to God compels me to love my brothers—in the East Zone, in the West Zone, in America, in Russia, whether or not they love me. My duty to love my brothers compels me not to kill them or their children, or to prepare to kill them, even if they kill me. The World Council of Churches, after reading the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, has recently discovered that war is contrary to the will of God and to the spirit of Jesus Christ. If this is a valid discovery —and I take it to be—it follows that men who do not want to violate the will of God and the spirit of Christ must not and will not make war, or prepare to make war, even if others make war on them.

### The Dilemma

I do not know how to solve the East-West Problem, though I wish I did. I do not have the power to solve it, which perhaps is just as well, since I do not have the knowledge. I do not want the Russians to remain in East Germany. I do not want the Americans to remain in West Germany. If I were a German, and I had the unpleasant choice of one or the other,

I would certainly prefer to live under the Americans. That may be a purely local prejudice on my part, but I think that the choice is a clear one. The West Germans live pretty well under the Americans, all in all. But if they had not resisted the American invasion in 1944 and '45, they would have lived still better. On the same basis, it seems to me fair to predict that if the Russians invade you, they will treat you worse if you have resisted them. They have reason enough to be impatient with you already, because of your country's relations with them between 1941 and 1945. You are, of course, aware that militarily you cannot turn back either the Russians *or* the Americans; militarily you can merely complete the destruction of your country.

### My Own Choice

I do not, as I say, have either the knowledge or the power to solve the East-West Problem, nor have I seen anyone who has. But as a sovereign Citizen, and a sovereign Citizen by virtue of my relation to God, I do have to try to solve the problem of living and dying as God wants me to. This problem, and this problem alone, is within my power. This power no man and no Government can ever take from me.

Any Government can kill me—so can any street car—but no Government can make me kill. Any Government can oppress me, but no Government can make an oppressor of me. Any Government can treat me Godlessly, but no Government can make me Godless. Only I can do that.

I am told that Stalin is the anti-Christ. Ten years ago I was told that Hitler was the anti-Christ. Though I did not like Hitler, I was skeptical then. Though I do not like Stalin, I am skeptical now. The reason that I was and am skeptical is that every time we kill the anti-Christ and bomb his cities and burn up his people, he turns up somewhere else with a still bigger army. I cannot believe that Christ cannot destroy anti-Christ, and that is why I cannot believe that everybody I deplore is the anti-Christ.

We Americans did not come to Germany to teach the Germans how to prepare for war or prosecute it. The Germans were already expert at that. We did not come to Germany in order to enable

• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

## MILTON MAYER

"The Duty of Freedom" was delivered in German by Milton Mayer, (who was spending a year in Germany as an exchange professor), at a Hessian Youth Rally sponsored by the Darmstadt Action Group, which is backed by distinguished clergymen but attacked as pro-Communist because of its anti-remilitarization program. On the day of the rally the hall in which it was to be held was suddenly canceled by city officials. It was therefore held out of doors, in the rain, with no seats for the almost 600 people who came to hear. During the rally tear gas was released in the crowd, but since it was outdoors it was not enough to disperse the meeting. The newspapers carried nothing about the meeting either before or after, and U.S. officialdom was "unenthusiastic, and actively so," about Milton Mayer's appearance there.

Germany to survive. If that had been our purpose, we would have let Hitler alone. What we came to Germany to do was to bestow the blessings of freedom on the Germans. Ours was a noble purpose; we were, with our fanatical faith in freedom, well suited to be its ambassadors; and the Germans needed faith in freedom worse than any people I have ever seen.

## Freedom Stifled

But freedom and militarism do not go well together. It was militarism, long before Hitler, that stifled freedom in Germany. And militarism has always led to war. It led the Germans to war twice within my lifetime. It has always led everybody to war. It always will. Americans are now embracing it, in a big way, and unless they relinquish it, it will lead them to war, too. I am happy to be able to report that the American Congress recently succeeded in defeating the proposal of full peacetime conscription in America. It was peacetime conscription that the late President Wilson in 1919 called "the root evil of Prussianism." In 1920 President Wilson was right.

Tyranny can afford another war, but freedom cannot. It is not that freedom cannot afford to *lose* another war, but, rather, that freedom cannot even afford to win. After two victorious world wars to preserve freedom, freedom is somewhat less well preserved than it was before those two victorious world wars began. Even in America, we are afraid of losing our freedom, if not from without, then from within. Look at the world of 1952, and look at the world of 1913, and you will ask yourselves who won, freedom or tyranny.

There has never been an occasion in human history, from the time of the Medes and the Persians, when an armaments race between two great powers, face to face and alone in the world, has not led to war.

As a patriotic American, I labor even at the risk of a little unpopularity, to save my country—not from the deadly peril of defeat in war, but from the still deadlier peril of war itself. We should have learned, in our time, that war is self-defeating and victory an illusion. If you ask my fellow-Americans—as I do—what they have won in two victorious world wars, you will find them hard put for an answer. In 1945 President Truman said that another war would be the end of civilization. In 1945, President Truman was right.

Freedom and war do not go well together. Every time freedom wins a war, it loses some of itself. But every time tyranny loses a war, it wins. The reason, I think, is that freedom thrives on confidence and love, while tyranny thrives on hopelessness and hate. War is the *parent,* as well as the *offspring,* of tyranny. And if you do not like communism—as I fervently hope you do not—you should observe the historical fact that the more war there is, the more communism there is, no matter who wins or loses the war.

## You Must Be Free

If you want your country to be free—and I know you do—you must first be free yourselves. Countries do not make men free; men make countries free. You must free yourselves, and thus your country, from fear and hate and despair.

Atlantic Charters cannot free you from these mortal evils. You must free yourselves from them, and you must not wait for official permission. If you do not dare now to be free, you will never make your country free or keep it free, and, in the end, you will suffer the worst fate of all: you will come to love your chains and be satisfied with your slavery.

I beg you not to let yourselves be distracted by false dichotomies. You will be asked if you prefer to live on your knees or die on your feet. The dichotomy is false. The question should be: Do you prefer to live on your knees or kill your brother? You will be asked whether you prefer liberty or death. The dichotomy is false. The question should be: Do you prefer killing to dying? I beg you not to let yourselves be distracted by false dichotomies and by frivolous, utopian alternatives.

### Two Things

If you ask me what you should do if your Government, or any other Government, including the Russian or the American, tries to militarize you, I will reply with one question and with one warning.

My question is: Do you want to be slaves or Citizens? If, like us Americans, you choose to be Citizens no Government, including the German, the Russian or the American, can ever compel you to pick up a gun.

My warning is this: The International Military Tribunal at Nurnberg hanged some of your fellow-Germans because they obeyed laws which men in conscience should never obey. The United States and the Soviet Union, sitting together in the International Military Tribunal, asserted the moral responsibility of the individual citizen to maintain his individual sovereignty, even against his own Government when his own Government orders him to commit a crime against humanity. War is one of the crimes against humanity, and, as Georges Clemenceau said, it is the cause of all the rest.

As the highest official of the United States of America—in my official capacity of a Citizen—I leave you with this question and with this warning. As Citizen, deriving my rights and duties not from Government but from God, I leave you with the lesson of Nurnberg, the Ten Commandments, and the Sermon on the Mount.

## *Commuters' Community*

has not resulted from any kind of pacifist caucus or conspiracy. Each member of Skyview has the right to speak his piece on any subject, but beyond all of them Skyview itself has values of its own to impart. No FOR member who lives there would want to jeopardize them by making Skyview a sounding-board for his own beliefs.

(*Continued from page* 11)

Instead, they join in the community efforts to make life better, and frequently find there an opportunity to express their pacifist convictions. Thus the mothers of the community, using such training and insights as they have and drawing on the specialized skills of Margaret Lawrence, have developed a program for pre-school children

and a summer program for children generally that are the pride and joy of the community, and to which parents outside Skyview occasionally ask to send their children. The insights of modern psychiatry in the matter of raising emotionally balanced children are not far from the pacifist insights on human personality and behavior generally, but are greatly at odds with the more common values of our competitive, warmaking society. It is not hard for pacifists to see their case being presented effectively here without a word of propaganda being spoken.

A year and a half ago one of Skyview's earliest members suddenly contracted polio and died. Moved by this tragic development, the community established an "emergency fund" from which gifts may be made, with neither publicity nor the obligation of repayment, when trouble strikes any Skyview member, and to this extent has moved toward a recognition of man's responsibility for the welfare of his neighbors. Certainly this reflects the kind of respect for human personality that pacifists advocate, and marks the kind of development in which they can participate with complete enthusiasm.

### The "Mountain People"

More recently, Skyview members find themselves drawn into an effort to help the Ramapo "mountain people"—some hundreds of isolated families descended from a combination of Indians, runaway slaves, and Hessian deserters during the Revolutionary War. Labeled as "colored" and "worthless," the mountain people have suffered discrimination in employment and housing for generations. Sparked by a group of Quakers, with an AFSC work camp promised for this summer, a committee of concerned neighbors of the mountain people have undertaken to build a community center for them, and to explore the possibility of cooperative housing a little later on. To such a project Skyview, which already has provided the nucleus of the local Friends meeting, may be able to contribute its own hard-won skills in building and living cooperatively.

It will, at any rate, be able to give the assurance that the effort is worth while!

---

*"The control of our educational institutions, in keeping with the American voluntary principle as opposed to statism, is not a function of Congressional committees, but is properly vested in boards of trustees and of education selected for that purpose."*

—From a statement by the National Council of Churches
New York Times, March 12, 1953

# Meditation on Armed Forces Day

By J. W. Reed

OUR GOD AND FATHER, today we lift a prayer for the armed forces of our land. We seek wisdom that we may learn what to do with our armed forces. We recognize that the very presence of such an organization indicates disease in the body politic and the larger the armed force the greater is the disease. So we pray that you will reveal to us wherein we have sinned.

Forgive us for depending so much on physical force that it has been easy to build such an immense fighting force. Forgive us for our arrogance and fear, a combination of which has caused us to depend too much on lethal weapons. Forgive us for shunting aside the Prince of Peace in this critical time. Forgive us for assuming that our way is your way.

God, may there come to our nation a baptism of the spirit of Jesus—that we may seek to understand the other peoples of the world—that we may really try to love them—that we may supply their physical needs out of our abundance. As we study Jesus we come to feel somehow that these attitudes are more in accord with thy will than to send soldiers, battleships, fighter planes, into many parts of the earth; for every gun is a threat to someone and we understand your method is to establish confidence between the peoples rather than to inject fear.

We humbly repent of the mistakes of ourselves and of our forefathers that have brought us to a state of mind whereby we feel we must create such an immense armed force. We open our minds and hearts and cast out our prejudices and hatreds so that thy spirit may come in and show us a better way. Surely you have a better way. Make us zealous to discover it.

We lift our prayer to thee, our heavenly Father, on behalf of the thousands, running into the millions, of young men and women who are in our armed forces in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in the Middle East, in Japan, in Korea, and still other places besides those in the camps in our own country. We pause in silent reverence as we think of the many who have been deprived of life while still young; of the many who are to live through the long years in crippled conditions; of the many who are hidden away in our hospitals and sanitariums—there to stay to the end of their days. The consensus of opinion through the nation seems to be that all this has been necessary. But God, the spirit of your Son haunts us and will not depart

from us until we have answered the question, "Isn't there a better way?" O God, our Father, show us what is wrong that we should continue to demand this sacrifice from our splendid youth! Jesus said there was a better way to live than that and wept for pity when his contemporaries would not listen to him. God, make us aware of our part in this collective wickedness. Purge each of us of fear, hatred and materialism and let thy holy spirit sweep through our souls that we shall see visions of better ways to live and gather strength to break with vicious customs.

Help us as a nation to rise to th glorious challenge of leading th world into a better day whe shackles shall be broken, barrier between peoples shall melt away when each man shall call hi neighbor "brother," when the force of love shall replace physical force when seeds of peace and good wil shall be planted in all parts and like the mustard seed, shall spread until they cover all the earth.

Make us strong, make us pure make us true, make us humble cause us to be sensitive to thy voice, we ask in the name of the Prince of Peace.

---

## *Most Wars Begin in April*

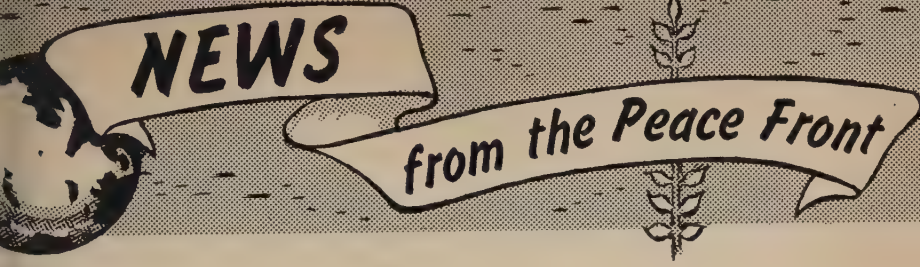
*1.*

*April*
*Month of merry marches*
*Maundering down the myrtled avenue*
*There's something joyous in the animal noon*
*That takes to spring like boy to girl*
*When all the world's a whirl of flesh and fantasy*
*And leaves behind their dance in breeze*
*Firm and flexible, finally free.*

*2.*

*And once again he asks the same old boring castrate question*
*How will it be marching on wooden legs in stainless steel September*

—N. Bauer




## Conference and Workshop Sites Set

The locations of the National Conference on the Road, except in two cases, have been definitely decided on. The New York Training Session and Conference will be at Community Church, 40 East 35th Street, whose minister is FOR-member Don Harrington. The Southern conference will be at Allen High School in Asheville, North Carolina; the Colorado conference will be at Red Rocks Camp, five or six miles southwest of Denver; and the Southwest conference will be at the Spanish American Institute in Gardena, California.

The dates for the conferences are: New York, June 26-28; Asheville, N. C., July 31-August 2; Midwest, August 7-9; Colorado, August 14-16; Northwest, August 21-23; and Southwest, August 28-30.

Each regular conference will last from the opening session on Friday night through a morning meeting and service on Sunday morning, with Sunday noon dinner optional. Before each conference there will be a training series, open to a limited number of people, beginning on Tuesday with an evening orientation session and lasting through Friday noon. Dates for the training sessions are: New York, June 23-26; Asheville, N. C., July 28-31; Midwest, August 4-7; Colorado, August 11-14; Northwest, August 18-21; and Southwest, August 25-28.

---

## Milton Mayer Refuses 50% of Taxes

Milton Mayer, writer, lecturer and FOR member, formerly assistant to the Chancellor of the University of Chicago, has written to the Collector of Internal Revenue that he will not pay his whole tax to the government. "I cannot," he wrote, "as a conscientious objector on religious grounds to military service, perform the military service here asked of me—the purchase of armaments. Nor, as a loyal American, can I contribute to the militarization of my country and, through its militarization, to the ruin which has overtaken every democracy which has ever taken this course." Pointing out that he did not wish to defy the government, and accepted any obligations to maintain its "free and peaceful institutions," he added that he was sending the balance of his tax to the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Friends Service Committee.

## COs in the Toils of the Law

*Gilbert McFadden* was sentenced on February 2 to five years on probation in the court of Judge Ernest A. Tolin in Los Angeles. McFadden served one year of a previous 3-year sentence for refusing to register, and Tolin, a former United States Attorney, demanded to know why the District Attorney was prosecuting him for the second time. He remarked that he didn't like to see draft boards kicking COs around, and said he was interested in avoiding second prosecutions. The AFSC had agreed to employ McFadden on probation, but the judge said that would be unduly restrictive, and the order he issued places no limitation on place or type of employment, or compensation that McFadden may get during his probationary period.

*Paul and David Seaver,* Philadelphia twins who served seven months of their 18-months sentences in 1951, have been arrested again.

*Vail Palmer* of Philadelphia, who also served a sentence a year or so ago, has also been rearrested, and charged with refusal to report for induction.

*Vasyl Sereda,* DP and religious objector who is in prison for refusing to report for induction, is having deportation proceedings brought against him on the grounds that this "crime" involves moral turpitude, which makes his deportation possible.

*Victor McLane* of Modesto has been denied an elementary teaching credential because of his World War II draft violation, and proceedings have been commenced cancel the music and junior hig school teaching credentials that I has had for some time.

*Edward Zepp* of Clevelan World War I CO, has just had h court martial set aside and bee awarded a general discharge.

*Arnold Liberato,* Jehovah's Wi ness of Pittsburgh, had his dra case dismissed on January 23 b Judge Wallace Gourley. Classifie I-A-O for "noncombatant servic as prescribed by the president," h asked his draft board what th president would prescribe, but failed to answer. Judge Gourle ruled that Liberato was entitle to an answer.

*Dan Tolmachoff* of Phoenix, Ari zona, received a 1-year sentenc from Judge David Ling on Novem ber 3.

*Howard Roberson* received 5-year sentence from Judge Wil liam Wallace on November 17 i Oklahoma City, and is free o bond pending appeal.

*Eldon Taylor* received a 3-yea sentence from Judge Carl Hatch in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

*Gaetano Brancaleone* received 3-year sentence from Judge Jacob Weinberger in San Diego.

*Philip Mulligan* was sentenced to three years in prison by Judge William Coleman in Baltimore on January 23.

*Russell Franko* of Minnesota and *Lawrence Tuttle, Harry Donske and William Fryer* of California have been arrested.

*Marvin Katz* of Boston, who had been living at Mt. Morris House in

New York, was sentenced to a year and a day and is now in Danbury.

*Henry Laemmlen* of Reedley, California, was sentenced in January to two years on probation for refusing to submit to induction, by Judge Campbell Beaumont in Fresno. During the probationary period Laemmlen is required to work at Kings View Homes in Reedley, a psychiatric hospital operated by the Mennonites, of which he is one.

About 100 COs have been placed in alternative service projects through the Brethren Service Commission so far, according to W. Harold Row, executive secretary. They have been assigned to projects in ten states and five foreign countries.

## Month of July for Interracial Workshop

The Summer Interracial Workshop, to be held in Washington D. C., for the sixth consecutive summer, is a creative project in the field of race relations. Washington, the nation's capital, is a place where some of the most miserable slums for Negroes stand within sight of the Capitol building, and where the segregation pattern of the South persists. During its previous projects, the Interracial Workshop has opened public swimming pools and wading pools to interracial use, has converted restaurants from refusing to serve Negroes to serving all who come, and has carried on educational campaigns to assure that integrated use of pools, for example, will not result in violence.

The Workshop will last during the month of July, and is sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality. Deadline for applications is June 15 unless special arrangements are made. Write for information now.

## Congress for World Federation in Hiroshima

In November an Asian Congress for World Federation was held in atom-bombed Hiroshima, Japan. It was attended by 346 Japanese; 27 people from abroad, including India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Cambodia, Vietnam, China (Formosa), South Korea, Okinawa, England, Germany, Sweden and the United States; and twenty others, not Japanese but living in Japan.

The program adopted by the group called for drastic reduction in existing armaments, prohibition of atomic weapons, elimination of racial discrimination and religious prejudices, release of war prisoners, and access to natural resources. They recommended that constitutions renouncing war should be upheld (which would apply to the Japanese Constitution), and called for freedom of publication of photographs and of the results of studies of atomic injuries. In a letter accompanying the report of the meeting Paul Sekiya, Secretary of the Japanese FOR, called attention to the fact that the Japanese government has prohibited the export of films showing results of the atomic bombings in Japan, presumably out of deference to the United States.

A bill to ban the manufacture, import, or sale of war toys has been introduced in the Italian Chamber of Deputies.

## Congregation to Appeal Jones' Dismissal

Charles Jones, FOR member and minister for 12 years of the Chapel Hill Presbyterian Church in North Carolina, was dismissed by a judicial commission of his Presbytery, effective March 1. In early February the Commission had given Jones the ultimatum to resign "for the welfare of the church" or be dismissed. In a letter to the commission, he declined to resign, after a unanimous endorsement by the church officers, and after his congregation had voted to continue the pastoral relationship. He made clear that he was not defying the Presbytery, but said he could not with honesty resign and say that it would be "for the welfare of the church or, indeed, for the welfare of Southern Presbyterians at large. You have informed us that Presbyterians who are financially able to contribute to the work of this strategically located church will not do so if the present pastorate continues. However, our people feel that no minister or church should inhibit the free enterprise of the Spirit of Christ because of the possible withdrawal or granting of financial support."

Charles Jones is known widely and favorably, and other local ministers, and church people throughout the country have been greatly concerned about the case. Newspapers in North Carolina, as well as elsewhere, have condemned his dismissal. Of the ten-man commission that voted Jones' ouster, one voted against the motion and two abstained.

There is no appeal from the decision within the Presbytery, but a complaint on grounds of "prejudice" or "improper procedure" may be made to a higher body and indications were that the congregation would do so. A statement by officers and parishioners issued on February 25 did charge the commission with "prejudice and bias," and accused it of "attempting to bribe" the church to get rid of Jones by offering to help raise money for a new building. It condemned the "cloud of secrecy" under which he had been fired.

---

## Chicago Region Holds Annual Conference

On May 1 and 2 the Annual Chicago Regional FOR Conference will be held in the First Baptist Church in Evanston, Illinois. The Conference will open on Friday night with Henry Hitt Crane, minister of Central Methodist Church in Detroit, speaking to a public meeting. John Swomley will preside at the Saturday session.

The theme of the conference is the Christian and War, and it is hoped that it can be tied in with the Evanston meeting of the World Council of Churches in 1954.

---

## German Party Opposes Rearmament

West Germany's new political party, the All-Germany Peoples Party (Gesamtdeutsche Volkspartei), founded by Gustav Heinemann, president of the Synod of the Evangelical Church, and Frau Helene Wessel, chairman of the

Catholic Center Party, is becoming a focus for the anti-rearmament sentiment of Germans. The party is completely nonCommunist in orientation, and includes Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, and other old-line party members. Their statement of policy, adopted on November 29, emphasizes three basic sources of opposition to allied policy:

1. The fear that Germany is being used, and therefore split, to advance the interests to two outside powers, the United States and Russia;

2. Resentment at the Western Allies' use of Christianity as a mask for political purposes and the fear that that practice may develop into a crusade;

3. A feeling that the people are not being adequately consulted.

"German foreign policy," the statement declares, "should be directed toward the maintenance of peace and the reunification of our country, under a form of government guaranteeing freedom, justice and recognition of human dignity."

## Blast Page, F.O.R., A.F.S.C.

The American Council of Christian Churches of California on February 13 issued a statement accusing Kirby Page, FOR member and lecturer for the American Friends Service Committee, of being affiliated with Communist front groups. Among these, it listed the FOR, the War Resisters League, the Socialist Party, the League for Industrial Democracy and the American Civil Liberties Union. Reiterating again and again that they were not calling Kirby Page a Communist, the statement went on: "But when a man wants what the Communists want, opposes what the Communists oppose, teaches what the Communists teach, and joins what the Communists join, the public is entitled to be informed about such matters."

The statement contains as evidence quotations from Page's books, such as *Living Courageously,* which "lay the blame for war on capitalism and nationalism . . . advocates 'public ownership' of banking, natural resources, transportation and communications, steel mills, and 'other primary means of industrial production,'" and several times quotes his advocacy of "peaceful revolution" in this country.

## Legion Seeks Gradual UMT

The American Legion is still working toward the passage of some kind of UMT legislation by Congress. Because there is a draft law now in effect this has presented difficulties. Many public figures, including General Eisenhower, have declared that it is not practical to operate the draft and UMT at the same time. To get around this, the Legion is advocating the passage of a law now which would not go into affect at once, but at some date that could be determined later. They could thus put the law on the books immediately, and be fairly certain it would not be repealed later.

## Famine in India Rages Again

Reports indicate that India is again suffering from a desperate famine and lack of clothes and medicines. The Gandhi Mission Society, which has fed over 100,000 children and old people, reports that its services cover about 200 villages within an area of about 300 square miles, with a population of 200,000. This area, however, is only a small fraction of the famine area in the southern peninsula. Money may be sent to the Gandhi Mission Society, 422 N. Alta Avenue, Whittier, California, where FOR-member Francis B. Riggs has undertaken to send it on to India. The address of the Society in India to which CARE packages may be sent, is c/o Bhikshu Nirmalananada, P. O. Box 1411, Thyagarayanagar, Madras, India.

## IFOR Flourishes in Many Countries

At the meeting of the IFOR American Committee in January, reports were received from Japan, Latin America and South Africa of the work going on there.

In Japan, Secretary Paul Sekiya reported, greatest emphasis during the past year has been on arousing public opinion against rearmament and "the rising tide of thought control which is a foreboding of the rebirth of a police state." Regular monthly meetings are held, a summer work camp was carried through, and a national conference, attended by 64 people. Total membership is 185, with 18 associate members and 22 "sympathizers."

The program for the coming yea includes formation of cells, partic ularly in colleges; another wor camp; systematic visits to loca groups; meetings; and publicatio of a monthly organ, leaflets an pamphlets, and some books. Look ing forward to being completel independent financially, the grou asked for only three-fourths of th amount of financial support it pre viously received from the IFOR.

From Latin America FOR Secre tary Antonio Loureiro reports a trip to Bolivia, Chile and Paraguay Pacifists in Argentina are havin an increasingly difficult time, bu a group continues to function i Buenos Aires. The Latin America Committee of the FOR had dele gates from Argentina, Bolivia Chile, Peru and Uruguay at it most recent meeting. A book b Earl M. Smith has been recently published, as well as a Spanish translation of Muriel Lester's *The Signature of Gandhi.*

On January 14 a conference o FOR leaders from different part of South Africa was held in Cape Town. Dr. Arthur Blaxall, Chairman, has been receiving and distributing funds for families in need as a result of activities in the civi disobedience campaign. "It is astonishing," Dr. Blaxall wrote, "how few white people have any sympathy for the non-European Campaign. . . . What people are afraid of is chaos and they cannot see that the Campaign is a legitimate attempt to focus attention on legitimate demands." Douglas and Dorothy Steere will be in South Africa from March 12 to June 12 for the AFSC.

At the IFOR Youth Conference to be held in Germany in August expenses will be about $1.50 per

ay. It is hoped that up to ten FOR nembers from the United States, vho can go or may already be in Europe for other purposes, will at- end. Anyone who may be able to lo so should write to Percy Bart- lett, 38, Gordon Square, London W.C. 1, for further information.

In the United States, Nevin Sayre reported that André Trocmé, Euro- bean Secretary, founder of the Col- ege Cevenol in France, and Direc- or of the Maison de la Reconcilia- ion, would be on a speaking tour during October and November 1953. During the past two years, since he was here before, Trocmé has trav- eled and lectured in Spain, Italy, France, Germany, England and Holland. Nevin Sayre is in charge of his schedule here, and anyone wishing to obtain his services or get more information about where he will speak should write to Nev- in at the FOR.

## CCCO Posters Bring Results

The Central Committee for COs in March announced that nearly 16,000 copies of its one-page poster to men of draft age had been dis- tributed, and that it was receiving an average of one response a day from them. The poster calls atten- tion to the provision for COs in the draft law, and gives the CCCO name and address as a counseling service, with space for any local organization to list its own name and address as well. Church and college bulletin boards have been the most popular places for post- ing the notices. In lots of ten or less, the posters are free from the CCCO, 2006 Walnut Street, Phila- delphia 3.

## Organize Pacifist Group at Swarthmore

Pacifist students at Swarthmore College, in Swarthmore, Pennsyl- vania, a suburb of Philadelphia, have organized a pacifist fellow- ship which has 25 pacifist members and a number of interested non- pacifists in addition. Started by three individuals, the group has mushroomed, and inquiries from other colleges and visitors at their meetings have indicated interest elsewhere.

The Swarthmore group have had Milton Mayer, John Swomley and Arthur Gladstone as speakers, in addition to their own regular meet- ings.

## Muriel Lester to Cover East Coast

During April and early May, Muriel Lester, traveling secretary of the International FOR, will speak in a number of large and small towns in New York, Penn- sylvania and New Jersey. Her first engagement in the area will be on April 12 in New York City, and information about this and other engagements may be obtained from Mark Deibler of the Ameri- can Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12 Street, Philadelphia 7.

On Sunday, May 3, she will speak under the auspices of the IFOR at the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church in Washing- ton, D. C., giving both afternoon and evening talks. On Friday, May 1, she will speak to the Boston FOR group.

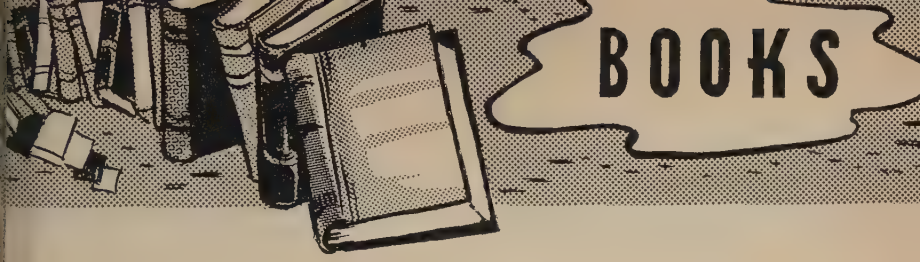
## More Arrested in South Africa Campaign

The Campaign of the South Africans against the segregation laws of their country, which began only last spring, had resulted, by December 16, in the arrest of 8,057 men and women. The greatest number were in the Eastern Cape Province section, with 5,719, while the Transvaal had 1,411 arrests.

In late January the South Africa Parliament voted further power to the government to suppress the campaign. Premier Daniel F. Malan's ruling Nationalist Party and the United Party, which is the opposition, joined together on the ground of white supremacy, to pass it. To do so, the United Party had to split with the Labor Party, with which it had recently formed a united front. Very vocal in opposition to the bill were the three white representatives elected by Africans—the only representation that Africans have in the government. One of them, Mrs. V. M. Ballinger, spoke in strong terms about the government's actions in suppressing the non-European population more and more, and was shouted down by government members and then ruled out of order by the Speaker.

Manilal Gandhi wrote in late January of his decision to join the campaign, and reported: "There has been a lull in the movement for some time. One reason is that the African National Congress is being reorganized since the change in the Presidentship." [Dr. James Moroka has been succeeded by ex chief Albert Luthuli, in whom, ap parently, all the liberals have great confidence. Luthuli is a pacifist and a member of the South Africa FOR.] "I am very happy that we have now a very sober and conscientious president. Maintenance of the nonviolent character of the struggle is assured under him. No that Dr. Moroka was bad in that respect but he was certainly becoming a tool of the Communists. But the ANC is very conscious of the fact and is trying to eliminate these influences which are to a large extent localized in one province—the Transvaal. The President is a Natal man and the Secretary is a Transvaal man. These are unfortunate things about the struggle which have otherwise been carried on excellently and it is that which has inspired me to actively participate in it. How long I shall be able to remain in it is to be seen. The government is determined to take drastic action. So it is going to be a tough fight for which we must either be fully militarily armed or spiritually armed. Since we have wisely chosen the latter we must concentrate on it."

Patrick Duncan and Manilal Gandhi were convicted on February 4 of "having behaved in a manner calculated to cause Africans to resist and contravene the law," and were given the alternative of a fine or jail sentence. Both had been arrested on December 8 for leading a group without passes into Germiston location where only Africans could live. Duncan was given $280 or 100 days of hard labor, and Gandhi $140 or 50 days. They and the others arrested with them are out on bail pending appeal.




## Two Spheres

*The Purpose of Jesus*, by E. L. Allen, D.D. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, London. 78 pp., $1.00.

This intimate, searching little book is based on lectures given by the head of the Divinity Department of King's College in the University of Durham to the British FOR Conference of 1950 at Bangor, Wales. It is addressed to Christian pacifists and may be best reviewed, I think, by brief summary.

The purpose of Jesus was the tremendous one of separating history into "the age that now is" and "the age to come." He thereby introduced a crisis in which men would fall apart according to their attitude toward him and the Kingdom of God. The method of the Kingdom of God is love. It carries its power, but this power necessarily operates through men, beginning with Jesus, who have entered into the Kingdom of God. The Christian Church, though not the exclusive, is the primary sphere of the continuing life, ministry, passion and victory-through-suffering of Christ. Far from by-passing the Church, Christian pacifists are to find in the Church the first place to practice their way of peace and love, for they can hardly accomplish in Hitler and Stalin what they have failed to accomplish in their nearest fellows. Yet, one goal of both the Christian individual and Church is the transformation of society, which involves political activity. But, since political activity is to a large extent only the crystallization of nonpolitical activity, the Christian pacifist may well find his most effective work in the nonpolitical sphere. At the same time, he will use all the political avenues open to him, within their own limitations.

God works in two spheres, in the absolute realm of heavenly or holy truth, and in the relative realm of secular life. Christian pacifists will strive to work with God in both realms, aiming at nothing less than holy perfection for their own lives, while at the same time they develop the patience, tolerance and sympathy required to work along with imperfect men, including their own imperfect selves. All this might be gathered up in the prayer, "Give me, O God, the love that is thy will for me, and at the same time, take and use such love as is all that I can offer thee."

—Ferner Nuhn

## A CO's Story

*Aideen MacLennon*, by Robert E. Wilson. Fellowship Publications, 1952. 253 pp., $2.75.

This novel is so close to being a biography of a wartime pacifist that it can be read for sheer entertain-

# Should YOU pay a part?

## IF YOU *don't* DRINK... HERE'S YOUR CHANCE TO SAVE ON AUTO INSURANCE!

**ACT NOW!**

In today's increased high speed traffic the use of alcoholic beverages is hazardous. The National Safety Council states that one out of every four fatal traffic accidents involves alcohol — 8,000 killed, scores of thousands injured and millions lost in property damage — millions that insurance companies have to pay in claims; **money that policy holders first pay in premiums!** Those who carry ordinary auto insurance are paying part of this loss in increased premium rates!

### *Here's Good News!*

If you don't use alcohol you can save by taking advantage of the preferred insurance rate offered by us to those who are total abstainers. Thousands now benefit from our dependable protection, lower rates and fast claim service. Preferred Risk Mutual Insurance Company was organized by prominent temperance leaders and competent insurance executives expressly to provide auto insurance at lower rates for persons who do not use alcohol. If you are a safe, non-drinking driver we extend this invitation to join those who now insure with us — thousands of ministers, teachers, lawyers, doctors, professors, business men and farmers. ***Mail this coupon now for full details and name of our claims representative in your area. There is no obligation.***

**MAIL *this* Coupon!**

*Use This Coupon* ——————→

nent as a piece of fiction or as an accurate chronicle of the life of a young pacifist. The hero, for whom the book is named, is probably not a typical pacifist. But I have known and counselled with enough young, idealistic, middle-western Christian pacifists to believe that Aideen MacLennon is authentic and human.

Certainly the description of life in a C.P.S. camp, the exciting experiences as an attendant in the violent ward of a mental hospital, the postwar cattle-boat trip, the attack by local Legionnaires, are all authentic and add real drama to the story.

The author in a brief preface points out that he is not a writer. Certainly the first few pages, which are not a very strong introduction, seem to bear out the author's contention. But after those few pages the book is easy and interesting reading. On the other hand, a skilled literary critic would not give the book a four-star rating.

There are a number of interesting bits of philosophy, such as the following conversation between Aideen and his friend Howie after an election in a C.P.S. camp:

> "It is sometimes easier to lead than to follow. In a group such as ours, there need not be the usual struggle for power. Of yourself you can be sure. You are going to stay with a cause regardless of any honor or recognition you receive. So you give the rewards of position and leadership to someone else. In this way you can guarantee that in any movement or organization there are at least two thoroughly dedicated people."

*Aideen MacLennon* should be in the library of every pacifist not just for his own reading but so that it may be lent to high school juniors and seniors who will soon be faced with the problem of Selective Service registration. It will help a high school or college student who is sensitive to the problem of war to think through most carefully his own position relating to it.

—JOHN SWOMLEY

4-53


**ACT NOW — USE THIS COUPON**

Please send me complete information about auto insurance for total abstainers. I understand there is no obligation.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

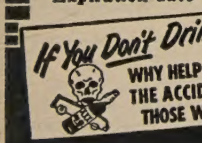
Age..... Occupation.....

What is the age of the youngest driver in your household?.....

Make of car ..... Year.....

Body type ..... Model (series).....

Expiration date of present insurance .....




SAM MORRIS, PRESIDENT

**PREFERRED RISK MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY**

2506 Grand Ave. Des Moines 12, Iowa

"America's Only Total Abstainers Automobile Insurance Company"

## Study of Homicide

*Murder and the Penalty of Death,* edited by Thorsten Sellin. Volume 284, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. November 1952. 238 pp., $2.00.

The FOR advocates dealing with offenders against society in such ways as to win them from wrongdoing rather than to inflict retributive punishment. This obviously implies a renunciation of capital punishment. Hence our indebtedness to the Academy for the 19 essays by leading criminologists brought together in this study of homicide and capital punishment.

For statistics, pithy quotations, and other information to the effect that capital punishment does not deter crime the volume is a valuable and up-to-date source, particularly for the nonprofessional student of social problems. It also contains much other material of special interest to persons committed to nonviolence: an analysis of murder and murderers, statistics on rates of homicide in various countries, states, and ethnic groups, histories of campaigns to abolish capital punishment, miscellaneous information on how persons charged with homicide are dealt with, an arresting quotations like the following:

"What factors in the total situation stood out in a study of seventy years of murder in Canada? The most significant factor was the presence of a suitable weapon. . . . Another important and commonly present factor was alcohol." (p. 156)

"Perhaps the most important single influence behind the movement (away from capital punishment) is the secularization of thought which became evident with the development of modern science. . . ." (p. 8.)

". . . the death penalty is in the country predominantly and disproportionately imposed upon Negroes, the poor and the uneducated, and men." (p. 14.)

Warden Lewis E. Lawes: "Murderers make the best prisoners. They are least troublesome to any warden, and they accomplish a great deal behind bars." (p. 49.)

—ORVAL ETTER


**FOR PACIFIST PARENTS**

A pocket primer written by 3 mothers.

*Cloth bound.....25 cents each*

Order from Agnes Ryan, Mill Road
Durham, New Hampshire


## ADVERTISEMENTS


ACCOUNTANT, convinced Friend, desires employment consistent with peace testimony. Heavy experience taxes, also three years small company comptroller office manager. Sever present connection reasonable notice, go anywhere, family of four, age 38. Box G, FELLOWSHIP

WANTED, Christian pacifist in need of home who would consider farm work with some wages. As only pacifists in our immediate neighborhood, we would welcome the companionship of others of the same convictions. Would also consider DP. Write to Galen Pobst, Star Route, Leavenworth, Washington.


## FOR Field Secretaries

*Midwest:* Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Cal.

# Fellowship Filmstrips

*present . . .*

## Pacifists Abroad

This is the story and pictures of some of the men and women in Europe who held to their pacifism through the years of Nazism and Fascism, who stuck to it throughout the war, and who are working on it now with renewed vigor. Alternating with them are "scenic" shots of France, Germany, Austria, Holland, Italy and Switzerland. Mimeographed instructions and "speech notes" to be read by a narrator accompany each filmstrip.

*35 mm, 91 frames in color*
*Viewing time: 15 minutes approx.*
*Price: $5 purchase $2 rental (one week)*

## The Case Against UMT

An adaptation of two filmstrips ("Will UMT Bring Security?" and "Would UMT Be Good for Your Boy?") produced with recordings early this year by the National Council Against Conscription. The new strip, which gives the complete case against UMT, uses many cartoons from the earlier strips, but has all new narration. Mimeographed instructions and script accompany each filmstrip.

*35 mm, 75 frames in color*
*Viewing time: 15 minutes approx.*
*Price: $5 purchase $2 rental (one week)*

## In Production

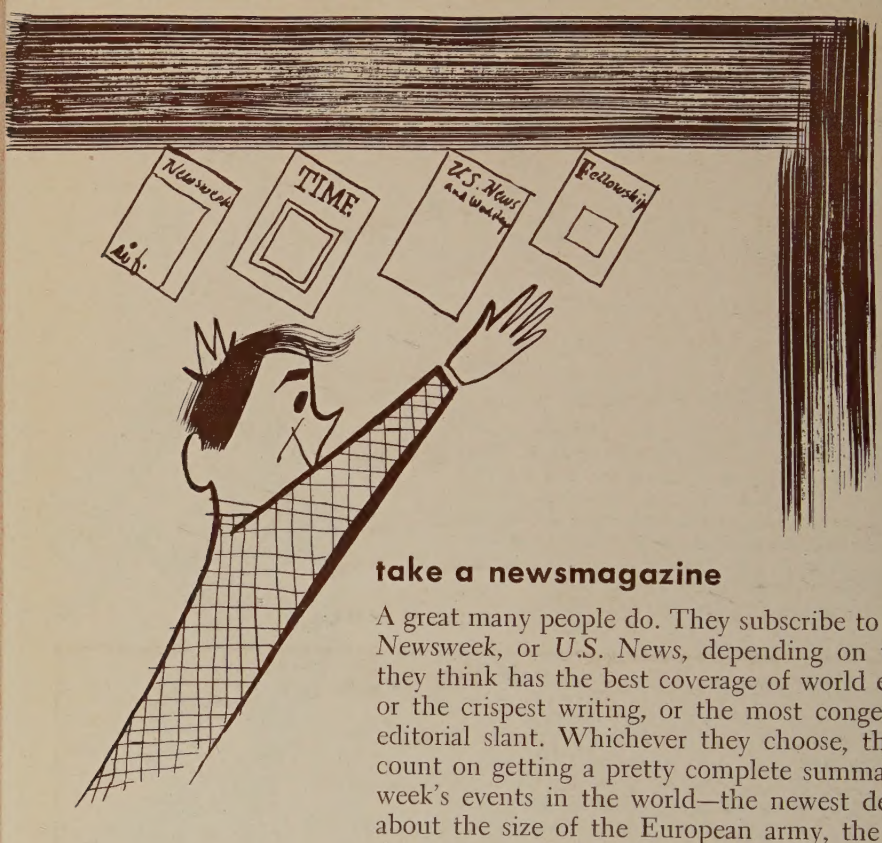
### The Magic Spectacles

A fable about the false impressions people and nations build up about each other, and what that leads to.

### Let My People Go

The nature of racial discrimination and how it may be combated by the use of nonviolent direct action.

**FELLOWSHIP FILMSTRIPS**
21 Audubon Avenue New York 32, N. Y.




## take a newsmagazine

A great many people do. They subscribe to *Tim Newsweek*, or *U.S. News*, depending on whic they think has the best coverage of world event or the crispest writing, or the most congenial editorial slant. Whichever they choose, they c count on getting a pretty complete summary o week's events in the world—the newest decisio about the size of the European army, the late development in atomic weapons.

## but to keep up with PEACE it has to be Fellows

FELLOWSHIP comes out monthly, and it lags p far behind in its news coverage.

But on the other hand, much of what you rea in FELLOWSHIP *you can't read anywhere else, any time.* FELLOWSHIP gives the *other* side of news: the interpretation of events that you kno in your heart is right; the news of the slow quiet growth of nonviolent ways of settling conflicts; continued story of the cause of peace in a worl of war. *To keep up with peace it has to be* FELLOWSHIP.

Suggest to your friends that they subscribe to FELLOWSHIP, ($2), or subscribe for them. Sen the names and addresses of those you can't reac FELLOWSHIP, 21 Audubon Avenue, New York

### Can you distribute Fellowship yourself?

*You can save money by handing out copies of* FELLOWSHIP *yourself. On bulk subscriptions (5 or more copies to one address) the price is $1.50 per year instead of $2.*